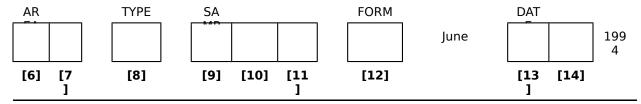
HART-TEETER 1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-5570 Interviews: <u>1502 respondents</u> Dates: <u>June 10-14, 1994</u>

47 Male 53 Female **[5]** 

#### **FINAL**

Study #4048 NBC News/WSJ June 1994



Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15
	8	]
Not registered	2	
	2	
Not sure	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Right direction	32	30	33	39	<u>3</u> 35	<u>3</u> 27	33	27	27	[16 ]

Wrong track Mixed (VOL) Not sure	50 13 7	47 14 6	42 13 6	42 16 7	54 14 5	49 12 6	55 13 5	56 10 7
			<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u> 2	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>
			37	43	47	<u>4</u> 5	15	34
			44	35	27	32	71	48
			11	11	14	11	9	13
			8	11	12	12	5	5

I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewha t <u>Positive</u>	Neu - <u>tral</u>	Somewha t <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negativ</u> <u>e</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							
June 1994	17	29	17	16	20	1	[17]
May 1994	19	29	18	16	17	1	
March 1994	18	29	19	16	17	1	
January 1994	20	35	17	14	14	-	
December 1993	22	33	15	15	14	1	
November 1993	24	30	14	14	16	2	
October 1993	16	30	18	16	19	1	
September 1993	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992	8	24	24	23	14	7	
The Republican Party							[18]
June 1994	10	27	27	18	14	4	
January 1994	12	30	29	16	9	4	
October 1993	16	28	27	15	11	3	
April 1993	9	30	26	18	13	4	
March 1993	8	27	23	22	16	4	
October 1992*	10	21	19	23	24	3	
October 1991*	12	32	21	17	14	4	
October 1990*	11	27	24	20	14	4	
Health insurance companies							
June 1994	7	16	20	27	25	5	[19]
March 1993	4	12	17	27	35	5	
Al Gore							
June 1994	16	24	28	13	11	8	[20]
March 1994	16	28	25	15	11	5	
January 1994	17	31	23	13	10	6	
December 1993	18	29	25	13	10	5	

					c	Study #4048-	-nage 3
Navanala au 1002	21	21	22	12		-	page 3
November 1993	21	31	22	13	11	2	
October 1993	14	28	25	13	14	6	
September 1993	17	30	24	12	12	5	
March 1993	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992	21	30	21	10	9	9	
Dan Rostenkowski	-	_		1.4	20	2.4	ro = 1
June 1994	1	5	17	14	29	34	[21]
Q.3 (cont'd)							
	Very	Somewha	Neu	Somewha	Very	Don't	
	<u>Positive</u>	t <u>Positive</u>	- <u>tral</u>	t	<u>Negativ</u>	Know	
				<u>Negative</u>	<u>e</u>	Name/	
Bob Dole						Not Sure	
June 1994	11	26	26	12	12	13	[22]
May 1994	16	29	19	14	11	11	[ZZ]
March 1994	12	24	24	15	13	12	
January 1994	13		24	14	9	14	
October 1993	_	29 26					
	12	26 25	24	14	10	14 14	
September 1993	13	25 22	24	14	10		
July 1993	10	22	25	14	13	16	
June 1993	15	25	24	12	10	14	
The Democratic Party	10	20	25	10	10	-	<b>1001</b>
June 1994	12	29	25	19	12	3	[23]
January 1994	11	29	29	17	11	3	
October 1993	11	25	26	20	15	3	
April 1993	15	29	22	18	13	3	
March 1993	15	32	20	18	12	3	
October 1992*	19	29	22	15	12	3	
October 1991*	12	25	24	21	13	5	
October 1990*	12	27	30	19	8	4	
The U.S. Congress							
June 1994	3	24	26	26	17	4	[24]
July 1993	3	20	24	28	22	3	
April 1993	5	21	25	27	18	4	
March 1993	3	22	24	28	17	6	
January 1993	4	20	27	28	16	5	
May 1992	2	16	20	31	27	4	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							
June 1994	21	26	16	15	20	2	[25]
May 1994	22	25	16	16	19	2	
March 1994	22	25	19	13	20	1	
January 1994	24	27	15	14	18	2	
December 1993	26	27	17	11	17	2	
October 1993	22	26	17	14	19	2	
September 1993	20	26	21	13	17	3	
July 1993	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992	21	25	25	8	11	10	

\* Asked of one-half the

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u> 4	12/9 3	10/9 3	<u>9/9</u> 3	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/9</u> 3	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/9</u>	
Approve	52	57	<u>=</u> 55	<u>=</u> 60	<u>5</u> 6	_	_	<u>5</u> 45	<u>5</u> 41	<u>5</u>	57	51	[26
Disapprove Not sure		37 6	36 9	31 9	33 11	43 10	39 11	45 10	50 9	34 14	26 17	16 33	J

## (FORM A)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u> *	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve	48	43	47	50	<u>3</u> 48	<u>3</u> 40	42	40	33	45	52	[27]
Disapprove	41	46	43	39	39	50	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure	11	11	10	11	13	10	10	9	11	15	20	

## (FORM A)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u> 3	<u>10/9</u> 3	<u>9/93</u> *	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve	34	36	47	53	45	33	47	50	38	47	47	[28 1
Disapprove		51 13	39 14	31 16	40 15	58 9	34 19	36 14	43 19	30 23	22 31	•

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half

## (FORM B)

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>4/92</u> *	10/91	<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
					<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>			<u>3</u>	<u> </u>		*	*	*	
Approve	34	32	31	33	30	29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	[29
															]
Disapprove	52	56	58	54	56	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	
Not sure	14	12	11	13	14	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

<sup>\*</sup>Asked only of

## (BOTH FORMS.)

5b. In this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	<u>6/94</u>	1/94	10/93	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/9</u>	11/92	10/92	<u>9/92</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	10/90	
					3	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Vote for the Republican candidate	30	29	34	29	31	35	29	32	29	31	33	[30
·												1
Vote for the Democratic	35	34	32	32	32	45	46	43	43	35	35	
candidate												
Depends (VOL)	14	21	21	24	25	4	6	7	7	11	14	

Neither (VOL)	5	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	2
Not sure	16	14	11	13	9	15	17	17	19	20	16

<sup>\*</sup>Asked only of registered voters.

#### (FORM A)

Sc. Now I would like to read several areas in which Congress is considering passing new laws. If Congress is unable to pass laws in each area I read, please tell me whether this will or will not affect your vote for Congress in this year's election. (FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) If Congress is unable to pass laws in the area of (READ ITEM), will this affect your vote for Congress or not? (IF "WILL AFFECT VOTE," ASK:) If Congress does not pass laws in this area, will you be more likely or less likely to reelect your member of Congress? (ROTATE.)

	Will Affect				
	More Likely <u>To</u> <u>Reelect</u>	Less Likely <u>To Reelect</u>	Will Not <u>Affect</u> <u>Vote</u>	Not <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
Reforming the health care system	17	34	42	7	[31]
Reducing the role of special interests in elections	13	39	40	8	[32]
Reforming policies on the telephone and cable TV industries to prepare for the information age	14	23	54	9	[33]
Reforming the welfare system	21	45	27	7	[34]
Crime and violence	22	50	22	6	[35]

#### (BOTH FORMS.)

5d. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	10/9 3	12/92	10/92 *	<u>9/92</u> *	<u>8/92</u> *	7/92 *	
Better if same party controls Congress and the presidency	30	33	30	37	39	40	43	40	[36 ]
Better if different parties control Congress and the	59	56	58	51	47	46	44	47	
presidency Not sure		11	12	12	14	14	13	13	
		<u>4/92</u> *	1/92 *	10/91 *	10/90 *	<u>1/90</u> *	<u>9/86</u> *		
		32	28	24	23	24	28		
		61 7	62 10	67 9	67 10	63 13	64 8		

#### (FORM B)

6a. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Congress as an institution is corrupt"?

Agree	50	50	[37]
Disagree	44	43	
Some of both (VOL)	NA	3	
Neither (VOL)	NA	-	
Not sure	6	4	

# (FORM A)

6b. Do you think that Congressman Dan Rostenkowski is a typical member of Congress, or not? If you haven't heard enough about Mr. Rostenkowski to answer, please just say so.

Rostenkowski is typical member	3	[38]
Rostenkowski is not typical member.	2	
Haven't heard enough to say	3	
Not sure	5 7	

# (BOTH FORMS)

7a. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	12/92	11/1/92 *	10/92*	<u>9/92</u> *	
Extremely confident	11	12	11	16	13	11	14	9	[39]
Quite confident	19	22	24	31	25	21	27	23	
Only somewhat confident	37	39	38	37	41	34	30	37	
Not at all confident	31	25	25	13	19	31	26	28	
Not sure	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	

7b. Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities by which a president might be judged. For each item, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton on that quality using a scale from 1 to 5, on which a "5" means you would give him a very good rating, a "1" means you would give him a very poor rating, and a "3" means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel.

**(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, how would you rate Bill Clinton, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)** 

	Very		Mixed		Very	Not	
	Good					Sure	
	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	
Serving as commander-in-chief							
June 1994	12	19	34	14	20	1	[40]
May 1994	13	19	37	13	17	1	
January 1994*	17	23	29	13	16	2	
October 1993*	14	18	32	16	19	1	
January 1993*	20	23	39	8	8	2	
Dealing with the economy				_	_	_	
June 1994	13	23	30	20	13	1	[41]
January 1994*	9	20	38	18	14	1	– .
December 1993*	16	17	35	22	8	2	
October 1993*	9	17	37	20	16	1	
Staying in touch with the American people	9	1,	51	20	10	_	
June 1994	30	27	23	10	9	1	[42]
			23			1	[42]
May 1994	29	29		11	7		
January 1994*	34	33	19	8	5	1	
October 1993*	28	29	25	11	7	-	
June 1993*	25	25	29	10	10	1	
January 1993*	46	27	20	4	2	1	
The quality of people he has appointed	_					_	
June 1994	7	18	36	17	19	3	[43]
January 1993*	15	28	34	10	6	7	
Achieving his goals							
June 1994	7	19	36	20	16	2	[44]
October 1993*	5	16	46	17	15	1	
January 1993*	22	29	34	7	5	3	
Standing up to pressure							
June 1994	19	25	25	15	15	1	[45]
January 1994*	25	28	19	16	11	1	
October 1993*	23	25	26	14	11	1	
January 1993*	29	29	27	6	5	4	
Representing traditional American values				·	•	•	
June 1994	14	23	25	14	22	2	<b>[46]</b>
lanuary 1994*	19	25	26	14	15	1	[-0]
October 1993*	17	23	27	15	16	2	
January 1993*	27	23	32	7	9	2	
The quality of his White House staff	21	23	32	,	9	2	
June 1994	5	17	37	18	15	8	[47]
	)	17	31	10	13	0	[4/]
Telling the truth	0	17	20	16	27	2	F401
June 1994	9	17	28	16	27	3	[48]
May 1994	11	17	28	16	24	4	
Having the right policies for the country	10	22	20	17	17	_	F463
June 1994	13	23	28	17	17	2	[49]
May 1994	13	21	31	18	15	2	
October 1993*	7	18	37	17	19	2	

## (FORM B)

7c. Now, I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions, and ask how honest you believe each one to be. Please rate each one as very honest, mostly honest, just somewhat honest, or not very honest. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ)** 

# EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Very <u>Honest</u>	Mostly <u>Hones</u> <u>t</u>	Just Somewha t <u>Honest</u>	Not Very <u>Honest</u>	Don't Know Name/Not <u>Sure</u>	
Bob Dole	18	25	35	8	14	[50]
Ross Perot	15	18	42	19	6	[51]
Bill Clinton	13	24	39	23	1	[52]
The news media	6	15	49	27	3	[53]
Hillary Rodham Clinton	17	25	34	21	3	[54]
Colin Powell	38	19	16	2	25	[55]
Jesse Jackson	15	22	39	19	5	[56]

## (FORM B)

8a. Do you think that Hillary Rodham Clinton is a positive role model for American women, or not?

Hillary Rodham Clinton is positive role	<u>6/94</u> 62	12/92 66	[57 1
Hillary Rodham Clinton is not positive role model	32	21	,
Not sure	6	13	

#### (FORM A)

8b. Do you believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton has the right amount of influence in the Clinton Administration, too much influence, or not enough influence in the Clinton Administration?

Right amount	<u>6/94</u> 38	<u>5/94</u> 38	<u>3/93</u> 46	<u>1/93</u> 50	[58]
Too much influence	51	51	38	35	[30]
Not enough influence	7	6	7	6	
Not sure	4	5	9	9	

#### (BOTH FORMS.)

9a. Which <u>one</u> of the following <u>six</u> issues do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time? **(READ CHOICES, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)** 

<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	
6	4	2	[59]
24	26	25	
34	34	31	
13	12	14	
3	4	4	
13	10	14	
5	8	7	
1	1	2	
1	1	1	
	24 34 13 3	6 4 24 26 34 34 13 12 3 4	6 4 2 24 26 25 34 34 31 13 12 14 3 4 4

9b. During the <u>next year</u>, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	3/9 <u>4</u>	<u>1/94</u>	12/9 3	10/9 3	<u>9/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/9</u> 3	<u>4/9</u> <u>3</u>	
Will get better	28	27	29	44	43	21	23	20	23	33	[60 1
Will get worse Will stay about the same Not sure		21 49 3	16 52 3	16 36 4	19 34 4	27 50 2	24 51 2	29 48 3	27 47 3	21 44 2	•
						3/93 39 15 43 3	1/9 3 50 9 39 2	12/9 2 53 10 35 2	5/9 2 32 20 45 3	9/9 1 31 24 40 5	

9c. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which <u>one</u> do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. <u>START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW</u>. ACCEPT ONLY <u>ONE ANSWER.</u>)

	6/94	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	12/93	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	6/93	
	_	_	_	_	_	<u>3</u>	_	_	_	
Inflation	6	8	6	5	6	5	8	8	6	[61
	25	25	22	27	40	42	40	27	40	J
Unemployment	35	35	33	37	40	43	40	37	40	
Interest rates	5	4	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	
The federal budget deficit	30	24	33	31	25	26	26	31	28	
Federal taxes	11	12	10	8	11	12	11	10	11	
The U.S. trade deficit	8	9	9	9	7	6	8	6	8	
All equally important (VOL)	4	6	5	5	7	4	4	4	4	
None is important (VOL)	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	
Not sure	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	

<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	12/92	<u>5/92</u>	9/91
4	7	7	6	7	11
44	44	44	46	46	37
2	2	2	3	2	3
28	28	28	24	22	21
9	7	5	5	5	7
7	8	8	10	8	8
5	3	5	5	8	10
-	-	-	-	-	-
1	1	1	1	2	3

9d. When it comes to dealing with the economy, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, would both be about the same, or would neither be good?

	<u>6/94</u>	10/93	<u>3/93</u>	7/92 *	<u>5/92</u>	1/92 *	10/91 *	
Democratic Party	21	22	34	26	29	28	27	[62 1
Republican Party Both about the same Neither good								•

#### (FORM A)

9e. I am going to read you a list of priorities for the federal government that might require taxes to be raised. For each item that I read, please tell me whether you would be willing to pay higher taxes in order to achieve that goal. (FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) In order to (READ ITEM), would you be willing or would you not be willing to pay higher taxes? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Willing To Pay Higher <u>Taxes</u>	Not Willing To Pay <u>Higher</u> <u>Taxes</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Reduce the federal budget deficit				
June 1994	40	57	3	[63]
January 1993	58	40	2	
Provide job training for the unemployed				
June 1994	60	37	3	[64]
Improve the quality of education				
June 1994	75	24	1	[65]
January 1993	78	20	2	

#### (FORM B)

10a. Do you think America is in a state of decline, or do you feel that this is not the case?

	6/94	<u>1/94</u>	<u>2/92</u> *	<u>1/92</u> *	12/91*	10/91*	
Is in a state of decline	51	49	66	63	63	53	[66]
Is not in a state of decline	44	44	30	31	32	42	
Not sure	5	7	4	6	5	5	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked only of registered voters

#### (FORM B)

10b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me"?

	6/94	6/9	10/92	<u>9/92</u> *	7/92	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u> *	1/92*	12/91	10/91	10/90	
		3	*		*	*	*			*	*	*	
Agree	45	35	49	50	56	45	59	47	43	44	48	42	[67
													1
Disagree	48	58	45	45	37	49	37	47	51	49	46	54	_
Not sure	7	7	6	5	7	6	4	6	6	7	6	4	

10/23 10/14 <u>9/88</u>\* <u>8/88</u>\*

	<u>16/88</u>		
*	*		
43	50	43	51
48	42	46	39
9	8	11	10

#### (BOTH FORMS.)

11a. Now I would like to ask you for your views concerning reasons why people are on welfare. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think this is a major reason why people are on welfare in the United States today, a moderate reason for people to be on welfare, a minor reason, or not a reason at all for people to be on welfare. (READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:) Is this a major reason for people to be on welfare in the United States today, a moderate reason for people to be on welfare, a minor reason, or not a reason at all for people to be on welfare? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Major <u>Reason</u>	Moderat e <u>Reason</u>	Minor <u>Reaso</u> <u>n</u>	Not A <u>Reason</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Not enough jobs	25	29	24	21	1	[68]
A lack of positive role models	37	23	17	21	2	[69]
People prefer not to work	44	22	17	16	1	[70]
Racial discrimination by employers	11	26	31	30	2	[71]
Women having babies in order to collect additional welfare benefits	50	20	15	14	1	[72]
Poor quality schools	33	27	18	20	2	[73]
Welfare pays better than some jobs do	53	19	12	13	3	[74]
The breakdown of the traditional family unit.	59	20	11	9	1	[75]
A decline in moral values	57	20	11	11	1	[76]

11b. Do you favor or oppose a proposal that would end all welfare benefits for unmarried mothers under age 21 and their children, and would turn the savings over to the states for programs to care for their children in group homes and orphanages?

11c. Please tell me which one of these statements comes closer to your point of view. (READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)

**STATEMENT A**: The social and economic problems that face America are mainly the result of a decline in moral values.

**STATEMENT B:** The social and economic problems that face America are mainly the result of financial pressures and strains on the family.

Statement A/problems result from decline in moral values	<u>6/94</u> 44	6/93 43	[78 1
Statement B/problems result from financial pressures and strains on the family	46	45	•
Some of both (VOL)	7	9	
Neither (VOL)	2	1	
Not sure	1	2	

## (FORM A)

11d. I would like to ask you to rate the moral and social standards of several periods in America's recent history, using a ten-point scale. If you don't know enough about that period in time, please just say so. Using a scale from one to ten, on which a rating of "10" indicates that this period had the highest level of moral and social standards, and a rating of "1" indicates that this period had the lowest level of moral and social standards, how would you rate (READ ITEM. START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)?

	Hi							Low			_	
	<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	7	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	2	<u>1</u>	Don't Know Enough <u>To Say/Not</u> <u>Sure</u> *	
The 1950s	2 0	1 4	29	1 4	7	1 0	1	2	1	2	(18)	[79]
The 1960s	4	5	17	1 7	1 5	2 2	9	5	3	3	(10)	[80]
The 1970s	2	2	9	1 6	2 0	2 5	1 4	7	3	2	(5)	[81]
The 1980s	1	3	6	1 1	1 4	2 5	1 8	11	8	3	(2)	[82]
The 1990s	1	2	6	7	1 0	1 5	1 8	14	1 1	16	(3)	[83]

<sup>\*</sup> Don't

#### (FORM B)

11e. Thinking back to when you were growing up, would you say the social and moral values in your own household are the same as, higher than, or lower than those in your parents' household?

Same	5	[84]
Higher	5 2	
Tilgilei	3	
Lower	1	
Not applicable (VOL)	2	
Not sure	1	

## (FORM A)

12a. I would like to read several statements about some social issues facing America. For each issue, please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with that statement. (READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:) Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Agree <u>Strongly</u>	Agree Somewha <u>t</u>	Disagree <u>Somewha</u> <u>t</u>	Disagre e <u>Strongly</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Illegal aliens should be denied public health services and their children should not be allowed to attend public schools						
June 1994	34	21	24	18	3	[85]
The government should not pass laws regulating morality and how people live their private lives						
June 1994	49	25	13	11	2	[86]
June 1993	54	23	12	8	3	
Condoms should be distributed in public schools to help prevent sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies						
June 1994	32	20	13	33	2	[87]
June 1993	30	25	13	29	3	
Homosexuality should be considered a socially permissible lifestyle						
June 1994	16	23	19	37	5	[88]
June 1993	18	25	14	39	4	
Blacks and other minorities should receive preference in hiring to make up for past inequalities						
June 1994	5	12	23	58	2	[89]
June 1993**	6	12	25	54	3	
We need to be more tolerant of people in our society who think and act differently from us						
June 1994	44	35	10	8	3	[90]
June 1993	50	26	10	9	5	
It is good for children to be educated at home by their parents rather than in schools						
June 1994	7	21	31	36	5	[91]
The government should not interfere with a woman's ability to have an abortion						
June 1994	53	17	9	18	3	[92]
June 1993*	63	12	7	14	4	
We need stricter laws to control pornography in books and movies						
June 1994	55	22	11	10	2	[93]
June 1993	58	18	13	9	2	
It is all right for blacks and whites to marry						
June 1994	44	29	9	15	3	[94]

# (FORM B)

12b. I'd like to mention several actions the government might take to try to strengthen families and family values, and have you tell me how effective you think each one would be--very effective, fairly effective, just somewhat effective, or not very effective. (READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:)

Do you think this would be very effective, fairly effective, just somewhat effective, or not very effective in strengthening families and family values? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Very <u>Effectiv</u> <u>e</u>	Fairly <u>Effectiv</u> <u>e</u>	Just Somewh at <u>Effective</u>	Not Very <u>Effectiv</u> <u>e</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Passing tougher laws to help collect money from parents who do not make their child support payments	49	19	21	10	1	[95]
Guaranteeing that families in which the parents work will not fall below the poverty line	42	18	23	13	4	[96]
Providing high-quality day care for families in which both parents work	61	14	14	10	1	[97]
Relying on families, rather than schools, to teach moral and religious values to children	54	12	18	15	1	[98]
Requiring that employers allow parents to take leave from work to care for a new baby or a sick child	59	18	15	7	1	[99]
Passing stricter laws to regulate violence and sex on television and in the movies	56	10	16	17	1	[10 0]
Passing tax incentives to help mothers of young children stay in the home and not work	25	18	27	28	2	[10 1]
Offering programs to teach teenagers how to avoid unwanted pregnancies	54	15	18	12	1	[10 2]

# (BOTH FORMS.)

12c. Currently, civil rights laws guarantee against discrimination regardless of sex, race, and religion. Do you favor or oppose laws that would guarantee the same rights for gays and lesbians, that is, regardless of sexual orientation or preference?

<u>6/94</u>	1/93 *	
55	59	[103 1
39	34	,
6	7	

<sup>\*</sup> June 1993 question read, "...woman's right

<sup>\*\*</sup> June 1993 question read, "...special

# Now, I would like to turn to the topic of health care.

(	F	O	R	М	A)
---	---	---	---	---	----

13a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the issue of health care reform?

Approve	4	[104]
	3	
Disapprove	4	
	7	
Not sure	1	
	0	

# (FORM B)

13b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing in handling the issue of health care reform?

0.0 0		
Approve	2	[105]
	6	
Disapprove	6	
	1	
Not sure	1	
	3	

## (BOTH FORMS.)

13c. From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care program?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/22/93</u>	
Favor	38	36	37	42	47	47	51	[106 1
Oppose  Need to know more (VOL)  Not sure	46 11 5	44 14 6	45 12 6	39 12 7	32 15 6	37 12 4	18 17 14	,

## (FORM B)

13d. Do you think Congress should pass a health care reform bill this year, or continue to debate the issue and act next year?

Congress should pass bill this year Congress should debate and act next	<u>6/94</u> 37 57	<u>5/94</u> 34 58	[107]
Not sure	6	8	

## (FORM A)

13e. Do you believe that Congress and the President should continue their efforts to reform the health care system, or would you prefer that they leave the system as it is now?

Congress and President should continue efforts	7 1	[108]
Congress and President should leave system as is	2	
Not sure	5 4	

(BO			

14a.	If President Clinton and Congress agree and pass a health care reform bill, do you think t	hat the
	quality of health care will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?	

Quality will get better	2	[109]
	5	
Quality will stay about the same	3	
	2	
Quality will get worse	3	
	7	
Not sure	6	

14b. And if President Clinton and Congress agree and pass a health care reform bill, do you think that the cost of health care will increase, stay about the same, or decrease?

Cost will increase	5	[110]
Cost will stay about the same	2	
Cost will decrease	6	
Not sure	4 5	

14c. And if President Clinton and Congress agree and pass a health care reform bill, do you think that the availability of health care services will increase, stay about the same, or decrease?

Availability will increase	3	[111]
	0	
Availability will stay about the same	3	
, ,	5	
Availability will decrease	3	
	2	
Not sure	3	

#### (FORM A)

15a. Please tell me which one of these statements comes closer to your point of view. (READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)

**STATEMENT A:** The main goal of health care reform should be to guarantee that all Americans who can afford insurance cannot be turned down, or lose their coverage, because of preexisting conditions or serious illness, for statistical reasons, or from changing or losing their job.

**STATEMENT B:** The main goal of health care reform should be to guarantee that all Americans have health coverage that can never be taken away, whether or not they can afford to pay.

Statement A/insurance reform	34	[112]
Statement B/universal coverage	57	
Some of both (VOL)	5	
Neither (VOL)	2	
Not sure	2	

## (FORM B)

15b. Which one of the following do you think is the most important reason we need to reform our health care system? (READ CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

To cover those people who have inadequate or no health insurance	4	[113]
coverage now	1	
To reduce and hold down costs so that our businesses will be more	1	
competitive in the global economy	1	

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To improve the quality of the health care you and your family receive	]
To reduce and hold down the cost you and your family have to pay for health care	2
All equally (VOL)	2
None (VOL)	3
Not sure	7

#### (FORM B)

15c. Congress is considering a proposal that would require health insurance companies to offer coverage to anyone who can afford to buy it, even those who have preexisting conditions or who have had a serious illness, and that would let people take their insurance with them when they change jobs. Those in favor say this change would allow more people to receive coverage. But critics say many younger, healthy people would stop buying health insurance because their insurance rates would go up, leaving fewer people covered. Do you favor or oppose this type of insurance reform?

Favor reform	5 4	[114]
Oppose reform	3	
Not sure	1	
	2	

#### (FORM A)

15d. Do you believe health insurance companies should be required to charge everyone the same rates, regardless of the person's age or the condition of his or her health, or should they be able to charge different rates based on who is most likely to require care, taking the person's age, gender, and medical history into account?

Should charge everyone the same rates	5 8	[115]
Should be able to charge different rates	3	
Not sure	6	

#### (BOTH FORMS.)

16a. Which <u>one</u> of the following would you consider the best way to reform the health care system so as to guarantee health insurance for every American? **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)** 

	Q.16a. First <u>Choice</u>		Combined First and Second <u>Choice</u>
A government system to provide insurance to all Americans	26	[116]	49
A system requiring most employers to contribute to their employees' health insurance	34		66
A system requiring all individuals to buy their own insurance, with subsidies or tax credits for those who cannot afford to pay	33		64
All equally (VOL)	1	SKIP TO Q.16 c.	NA
None of these (VOL)	3		NA
Not sure first choice	3		NA

#### (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WITH A FIRST CHOICE IN Q.16a.)

16b. And which would be your second choice? (READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.16a. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.16b. ABOVE.)

#### (ASK EVERYONE.)

16c. And which <u>one</u> of the following would you consider the best way to <u>pay</u> for guaranteed health insurance for every American? **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)** 

	Q.16c . First <u>Choic</u> <u>e</u>		Combined First and Second <u>Choice</u>
Increasing broad-based taxes, for example, by creating a national sales tax or by raising income taxes	10	[118]	31
Requiring most employers to contribute to their employees' health insurance	19		63
Placing cost controls on the health care system, such as limits on insurance premiums and on doctor and hospital fees	62		80
All equally (VOL)	2	SKIP TO Q.17 a.	NA
None of these (VOL)	4		NA
Not sure	3		NA

#### (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WITH A FIRST CHOICE IN Q.16c.)

16d. And which would be your second choice? (READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.16c. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.16d. ABOVE.)

# (ASK EVERYONE.)

Now, some questions on foreign policy.

17a. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view on our relationship with China?

**Statement A:** We should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies.

**Statement B:** We should demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States.

Statement A/Maintain good trade relations	<u>6/94</u> 42	<u>5/94</u> 40	<u>3/94</u> * 31	12/93 29	[120
Statement B/Demand improved human rights policies	50	51	61	65	1
Neither (VOL)	2	3	2	2	
Not sure	6	6	6	4	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents.

17b. Next month, the leaders of the world's seven major industrial democracies, known as the G-7, will meet in Italy, along with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Which one of the following do you consider the most important topic of their meeting? (READ CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER.)

Growth of the world economy	3 5	[121 ]
Improving political relations between the industrial democracies and the former communist nations	3	
democracies and the former communist nations	U	

Financial aid for the former communist nations making the transition to a free market economy	
All equally (VOL)	2
None (VOL)	2
Not sure	5

17c. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? (ROTATE ORDER. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.17a. BELOW.)

	Q.1	•				
	6/94		<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	12/9 3	
The war between Bosnia and Serbia	11		21	15	14	[122 ]
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union	14		18	30	21	
The refusal of Haiti's military to give power back to the democratically elected government	7	CONTINU E	3	4	4	
North Korea's development of a nuclear weapon	46		25	23	31	
U.S. relations with China	3		3	NA	NA	
The peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs	7		14	15	13	
All equally (VOL)	5	SKIP TO Q.18a.	8	5	8	
None of these (VOL)	1		1	1	2	
Not sure	6		7	7	7	

	Co				
	6/9 <u>4</u>	<u>5/9</u> <u>4</u>	<u>1/94</u>	12/9 3	
The war between Bosnia and Serbia	26	38	31	28	[123 ]
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union	30	35	54	40	
The refusal of Haiti's military to give power back to the democratically elected government	18	8	9	11	
North Korea's development of a nuclear weapon	61	44	43	52	
U.S. relations with China	15	12	NA	NA	
The peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs	23	28	35	32	
All equally (VOL)	5	8	5	8	
None of these (VOL)	1	1	1	2	
Not sure most serious policy issue	6	7	7	7	
Not sure second most serious policy issue	3	3	2	3	

#### (ASK EVERYONE.)

18a. Now I would like to read you several situations that are taking place around the world today. For each one, please tell me whether you think the United States should take the lead in addressing this situation, take equal part with other countries in addressing this situation, or should not be involved in this situation. (READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:) Should the U.S. take the lead in addressing this situation, take equal part with other countries in addressing this situation, or not be involved in this situation? (ROTATE.)

	U.S. Should Take The <u>Lead</u>	U.S. Should Take Equal <u>Part</u>	U.S. Should Not Be <u>Involved</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Restoring democratic rule and stability to Haiti	16	48	33	3	[124 ]
Requiring the inspection of nuclear production facilities in North Korea	37	52	8	3	[125 ]
Attempting to end the civil war in Rwanda	7	42	46	5	[126 ]
Demanding human rights improvements in China	15	52	30	3	[127 ]

18b. Do you favor or oppose the United States sending troops to Haiti to try to help restore democracy?

Favor sending troops to Haiti	2 9	[128]
Oppose sending troops to Haiti	6	
Not sure	6	

18c. If North Korea does not allow its nuclear production facilities to be inspected after we have imposed economic sanctions, would you favor or oppose launching a military strike to destroy North Korea's ability to build a nuclear bomb?

	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	
Favor	44	41	[129
			]
Oppose	47	45	
Not sure	9	14	

19a. In your view, can a president who did not serve in the military be an effective commander-inchief of the armed forces, or not?

President who has not served can be an effective commander-in- chief	60	[130
President who has not served cannot be an effective commander-in-	35	,
chiefNot sure	5	

## (FORM A)

19b. As you may know, a former Arkansas state employee named Paula Jones has filed a lawsuit claiming that President Clinton sexually harassed her in 1991 while he was governor of Arkansas, and he has denied these charges. From what you have read or heard about this lawsuit, do you believe that (ROTATE ORDER) the charges have been made for political and financial gain, or that this is a clear case of sexual harassment?

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Political and financial gain	6 8	[131]
Clear case of sexual harassment	1 5	
Some of both (VOL) Neither (VOL)	4	
Not sure	1 1	

## (FORM B)

When you think back to the high and low points of his term in office, do you think, on the whole, that it was good for America or bad for America that Richard Nixon served as president?

Good for America	<u>6/94</u> 66	<u>5/94</u> 73	[132
Bad for America	20	16	,
Some of both (VOL)	6	4	
Neither (VOL)	1	1	
Not sure	7	6	

# (BOTH FORMS.)

20b. As you may know, Oliver North is running for the United States Senate from Virginia. If Oliver North is elected to the Senate, do you think this would be good for America, bad for America, or will it make no difference?

Good for America	2	[133
Bad for America	3	,
No difference	4	
Depends (VOL)Not sure	3 1 4	

# FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

**(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote	1 6	[134]
Voted for George Bush	2	
Voted for Bill Clinton	9 3	
Voted for Ross Perot	5 1	
	2	
Other candidate (VOL) Too young (VOL)	1 2	
Not sure/refused	5	

F2a. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal	6	[135]
Somewhat liberal	2	
	0	
Moderate	2	
	4	
Somewhat conservative	2	
	3	
Very conservative	1	

Views cannot be described in those	1
terms	4
Not sure	2

F2b. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat	1	[136]
Not strong Democrat	5 1	
Independent/lean Democrat	5 1	
Strictly Independent	0 1	
Independent/lean Republican	4 1	
Not strong Republican	0 1	
Strong Republican	- 4 1	
Other	2	
Refused Don't know/nothing	- 2	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Grade school	1 9 3	[137]
Some college, no degree	1	
Vocational training, 2-year college	1	
4-year college/bachelor's degree	0 1	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	7 3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree	2	
Not sure	-	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24	1 1	45-49	10	[138]
25-29	1	50-54	6	
30-34	1	55-59	5	
35-39	1 1 1	60-64	7	
40-44	1	65 and over	17	

0 Refused.....

	Professional/manager  White collar worker  Blue collar worker  Farmer  Student  Homemaker  Retired  Unemployed  Never worked/not sure		2 3 2 0 2 3 1 3 7 2 0 2	[139]		
Work Do n	EN.) Dutside the home or not? Coutside the home  ot work outside the home  t sure/refused			1	[140]	
(ASK EVERYONE.) F7a. In what religion	Protestant	3 2 1 3	3 3 ) 2 L L	141]		
	how you were brought up, do you co you personally had a conversion exper Born-again Not born-again	ience r				n Christian

suburb near a city, a small town that is not near a city, or a rural or country area?

[143]

2

Large city.....

Medium to small city.....

What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

F5.

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Suburb near a city	7 2
Small town that is not near a city	2 1 4
Rural or country area	1
Not sure	1

F9a. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White	80	SKIP TO Q.F10.	[144]
Black	11	CONTINUE	
Hispanic	5	SKIP	
Asian	2	то	
Other	1	Q.F10.	
Not sure/refused	1	-	

#### (ASK ONLY OF BLACK RESPONDENTS.)

F9b. When someone refers to your race, do you prefer to be referred to as black, African American, or do you prefer some other term?

	Blac	6/93	5/92	
	6/94	0/93	<u> 3/92</u>	
Black	38	37	58	[145]
African-American	33	28	23	
Some other term	7	9	11	
Doesn't make any difference	20	24	-	
(VOL)				
Not sure/refused	2	2	8	

## (ASK EVERYONE.)

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000	9	[146]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000	1 5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	1 7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	1	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	5 1 3	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	1	
More than \$75,000	5 1	
	0	
Not sure/refused	6	